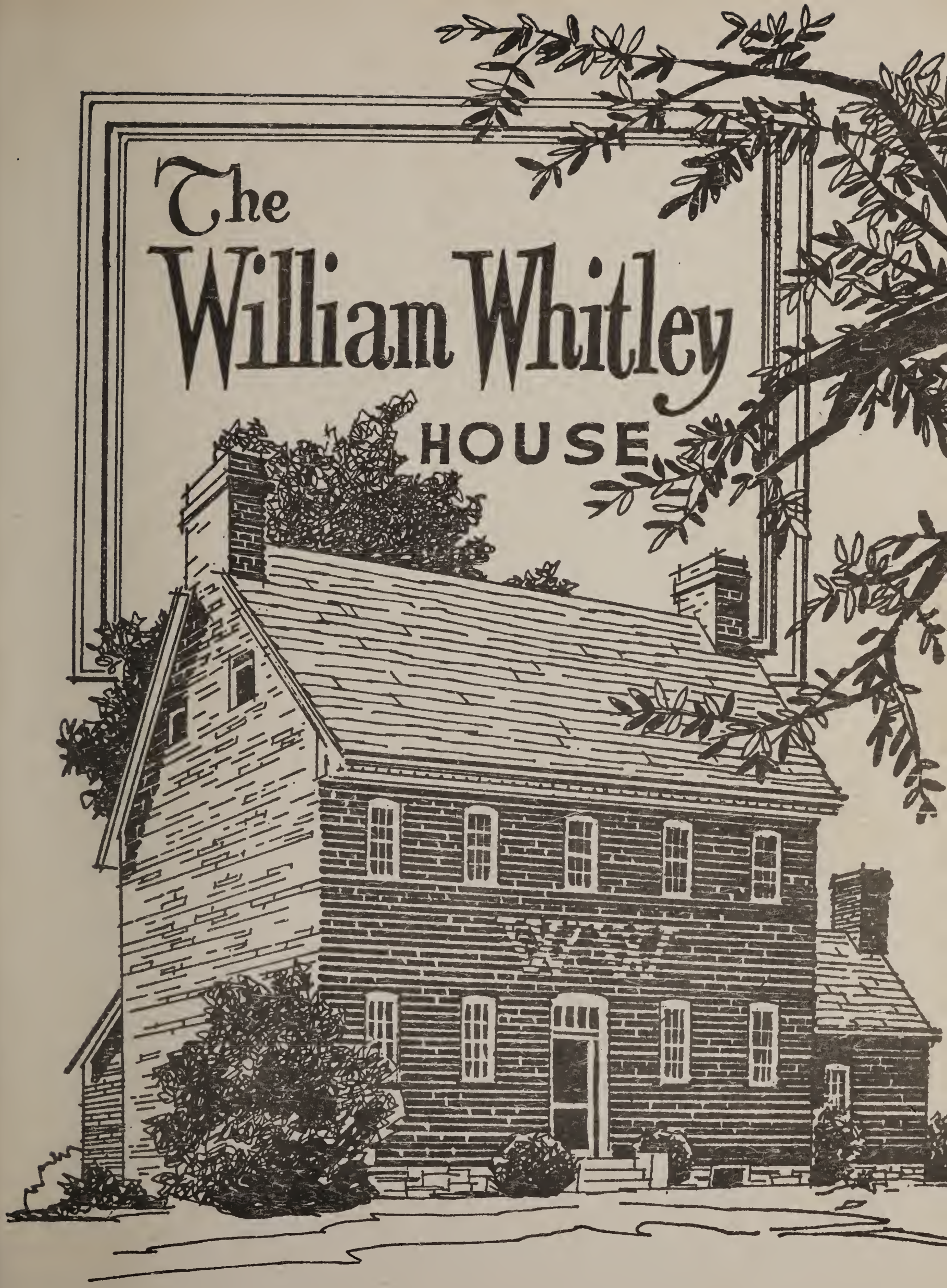
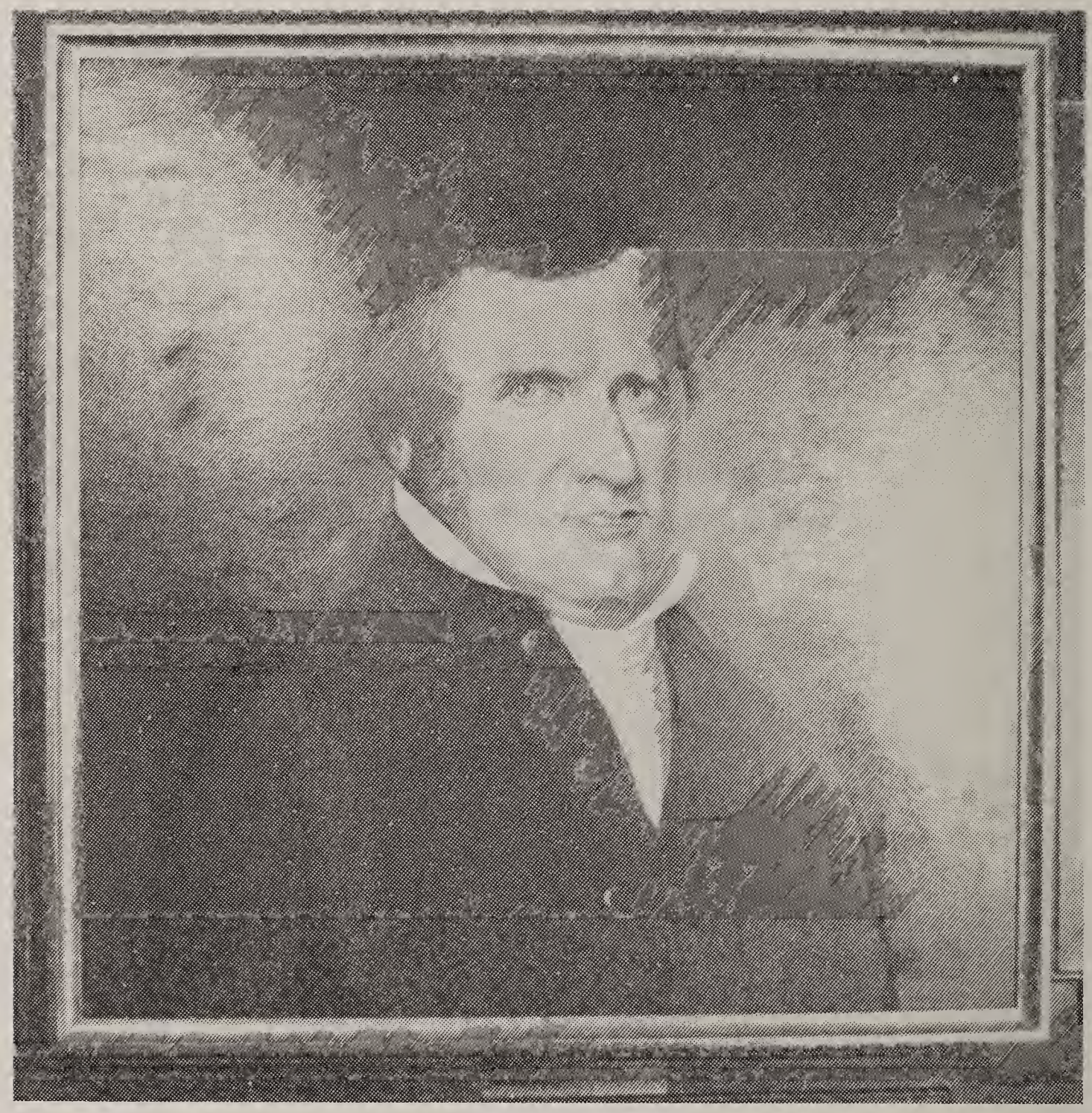


WILLIAM WHITLEY HOUSE STATE HISTORIC SITE
Off U. S. Highway 150
Between Stanford & Crab Orchard, Ky.

Reprinted from William Whitley 1749-1813
by Charles G. Talbert with deletions and additions
by Mr. John Buchanan.
Kentucky Department of Parks
Frankfort, Ky.



WILLIAM WHITLEY 1749-1813

Part 1

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM WHITLEY

It was late in November in the year 1775. Richard Henderson with a party of forty men was making his second trip to his settlement at Boonesborough.[1] They had passed through the Cumberland Gap and were descending near Yellow Creek when they overtook two small families who were exchanging their homes in the Valley of Virginia for the land which lay just beyond the last range of Cumberland foothills.[2]

The children of one of the men were old enough to ride alone or to walk beside the horses. The other man, who appeared to be the leader, had undertaken a more difficult task, for his children were two small girls, the elder only three years of age, and the younger still a baby.[3] He was a rather tall man with light eyes, sandy hair, and a prominent aquiline nose. His features indicated the strength of his character.[4] The pioneer, William Whitley, was serving notice upon the wilderness that he was coming to stay.

Whitley was born on August 14, 1749, in Augusta County, Virginia.[5] His father, Solomon Whitley, had married Elizabeth Barnett in Ireland and had emigrated to that portion of Augusta County which was later to be incorporated in Rockbridge County.[6] Little is known of Whitley's boyhood. He was the oldest of four

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sons, and he is said to have had five sisters.[7] When he was about twenty-one years of age[8] he was married to Esther Fullen[9] who was five years yuonger than he, having been born on May 10, 1755.[10] Two of their children, Elizabeth and Isabella, were born in Virginia about 1772 and 1774 respectively.[11]

In the spring of 1775 Whitley, accompanied by his brother-in-law, George Clark, journeyed through the wilderness to Kentucky.[12] They selected a likely location on a branch of Dick's River and returned to Virginia for their families.

The return to Kentucky was exceedingly difficult. Esther Whitley and the two little girls rode on the same horse, the older one tied on behind, and the younger in her mother's arms. At times the going became so rough that the horses had to be unpacked, and their goods carried over ranges of mountains in small quantities. Several times Mrs. Whitley's horse fell, and she and the two children landed in a heap on the ground.[13]

Shortly after Henderson's party had passed several guns were heard, and Whitley feared an Indian attack. Henderson was thoughful enough to send back a runner, who explained that a bear had been killed, and who brought some very welcome bear meat.[14]

Most of the trip was made in November, and the group encountered both rain and snow. It is not surprising that when they reached their destination on Cedar Creek, about two miles west of the Crab Orchard, thirty-three days had elapsed since the journey began.[15]

The Indians had not molested the Kentucky settlements while Whitley and Clark were away, and the two families ignored the forts and followed the popular practice of "settling out."[16] The following spring, after he had planted his corn,[17] Whitley journeyed to Boonesborough for supplies, opening an accuont at the Henderson Company's store on April 20.[18]

Things went well until mid-summer when the capture of Jemima Boone and the Callaway girls by a small party of Indians alarmed the settlers, and those who were living in isolated cabins began to move to the forts for protection.[19] Although Whitley was already referring to his "station," he had not yet erected anything which could be considered a fort. Taking his family and a few possessions, he traveled the eight miles to St. Asaph's, leaving ten acres of corn standing around his cabin. Benjamin Logan was considerably farther along in the construction of a fort, but even this did not look to Whitley like a safe place for his family, and so they

continued to Harrodsburg. Whitley's alarm may have influenced Logan, for soon afterward he took his wife and son to Harrodsburg where he left them until the following spring.[20]

At Harrodsburg on February 25, 1777, the third Whitley child was born, a daughter who was called Levisa, a name which was at that time commonly applied to the entire region. Levisa Whitley is thought to have been the second white girl born in Kentucky, Betsy Menifee, daughter of William Menifee, having been the first.[21]

Before another month had passed, Logan came to Harrodsburg with the word that his fort was completed and needed only the presence of a few more men to be secure. The Whitleys were among those who agreed to join him, and with Logan as guide a small party traveled the eighteen miles to St. Asaph's under cover of darkness.[22]

By May of 1777 Boonesborough was under attack. John Kennedy and another resident, who were cut off from the fort, decided to warn Logan. They arrived at St. Asaph's only a few hours ahead of the Indians and found most of the men outside of the fort. They were hastily summoned, and all possible supplies were brought inside the stockade. At the beginning of the siege there were only fifteen men at Logan's, and the only white women were Mrs. Pettit, Mrs. Clark (Whitley's sister, Margaret), Mrs. Whitley, Mrs. Menifee, and Mrs. Logan. A total of fifty-seven Indians were seen at a single time. Attacks continued at intervals throughout the summer. On one occasion, when a thirteen-day siege had apparently ended, Esther Whitley, Ann Logan, and a Negro woman belonging to the latter, ventured outside the fort to milk the cows, with John Kennedy, Burr Harrison, William Hulson, and James Craig standing guard. A group of Indians who had remained in the vicinity of the fort, opened fire on the group. Kennedy, Craig, and the three women fled to the fort, leaving Harrison and Hutson apparently dead. Several hours later Whitley saw Harrison move slightly. He notified Logan, who called to Harrison and told him if he were conscious to move his foot. He did so, and Logan, using a bag of wool as a shield, brought him into the fort. This act of heroism, however, availed them little for Harrison died seven days later. When the action became less intense, Logan also recovered the body of Hutson.[23]

These losses determined Logan to go to the Holston settlements for aid. Leaving on the night of June 6 and traveling almost continuously, he completed the round trip in record time, returning

to his fort on June 23. He had obtained only a promise of future aid, but in September the promise was kept when Captain Pawling and Captain Ruddell came out with their companies. Six of their men were dispatched to St. Asaph's to reinforce the little garrison there.[24]

While the six men were enroute from the main branch of the Wilderness Road to Logan's Fort, the Indians fired upon them, killing Ambrose Grestham and wounding Jonas Menifee and Samuel Ingram. A proclamation from Col. Henry Hamilton, British commander at Detroit, was left lying on the body of Grestham. It promised food, lodging, and humane treatment to all who would desert and bring their arms with them. Those who held colonial commissions were even promised equal rank in the British army. An additional inducement of two hundred acres of land for each man could not have been very effective, since land at that time seemed to be very plentiful.[25]

Although Logan's Fort was in danger during most of the year 1777, it must not be supposed that the siege was continuous. Corn was planted in the spring, and, although the Indians drove away or destroyed most of the livestock, some of this corn remained and was harvested in the fall.[26]

About this time Whitley and John Carpenter set out to recover Whitley's horses which had been driven off by the Indians. Near Whitley's Old Station they found where the Indians had camped on the previous night, and tracks indicated that at least nineteen horse had been tied nearby. During the next night Whitley heard the familiar tone of the bell on one of his horses, and the two men found themselves almost upon the Indians' camp. Mounting two of the horses they rode rapidly back to St. Asaph's with the remaining horses luckily following along behind them.[27]

The experiences of 1777 convinced Whitley of the necessity of remaining in or very near a fort, so he and his family continued to live at Logan's throughout the following year. In the spring of 1778 Andrew Johnson, who had been captured with Boone in February, escaped from the Shawnees and finally arrived at Logan's Fort. Since he was able to give information regarding the distance to the Indian towns north of the Ohio, Whitley decided to make an attempt to regain more of the horses which the Indians had stolen during the preceding year. He set out for Harrordsburg, accompanied by Nehemiah Pore, and there they were joined by four other men, including the aforesaid Johnson. The party crossed the Ohio on rafts and came upon an Indian camp a few miles north of

the river. Since there were too many Indians for a frontal attack, Whitley suggested that they attempt to take them by surprise just before dawn. This plan might have been successful had not the Indians' dogs scented them during the night and started to attack, thus arousing the savages. They remained to fire a few shots, killing two Indians and a dog. Escaping with seven horses, they returned home after fourteen days absence. Boone, who was still a prisoner, later informed them that there were twenty-five Indians in the camp.[28]

When George Rogers Clark landed at Corn Island, just above the Falls of the Ohio, to prepare for his invasion of the Northwest, Whitley joined him as a member of Captain John Montgomery's volunteer Kentucky company. He gave a brief account of the trip down the river and across the present State of Illinois, and of the capture of Rocheblave, the Commandant at Kasksakia. Whitley had evidently volunteered for only three months because he returned to Kentucky in September, and thus was not a witness to the capture of Vincennes.[29]

The following October Whitley again led a small band of men across the Ohio, as he put it, "to steal horses again."[30] Their progress was made easier by their having painted themselves and dressed as savages. This time they came upon a band of Indians at the Old Sugar Camp about fifteen miles from Chillicothe. Whitley said later that a squaw came so close to him that he could have touched her. They started home with about thirty horses, but after crossing the Ohio they were surprised by several warriors who were returning from another attack on Boonesborough. They lost one man, John Hays, and all of the horses were retaken by the Indians. They then returned to Harrodsburg and St. Asaph's and found all well.[31]

By the end of that year things seemed quiet in Kentucky, and in January, 1779, the Whitleys moved back to their own land.[32] Their first station must have been destroyed during the tragic year of the "three sevens," and it is possible that Whitley's return to Kentucky in September was for the purpose of completing his rebuilding.

About this time Whitley's parents came from Virginia and spent their remaining years at his station, both dying around 1782. One of the Whitley girls later recalled that it was her Grandfather Whitley who taught her the Presbyterian catechism.[33]

The location of Whitley's Station on the Wilderness Road made it a logical place for those who were returning to Virginia to obtain

supplies. In April, 1779, a small band of men arrived at the station. Some were obviously prisoners, and the remainder, their military guards. They purchased provisions for the two-week trip to the Holston settlements; "a small ox, three bags of corn, and some dried meat." One of the prisoners appeared to be a man of some consequence, and Whitley learned that he was Col. Henry Hamilton, former British governor at Detroit, who had been captured at Vincennes. The notorious "ha'r buyer" was being escorted to Virginia as a prisoner of war.[34]

Whitley was ever a believer in attacking the Indians on their own ground. In June, 1779, he and Logan raised companies which joined with the forces of Kentucky's County Lieutenant, John Bowman, at the mouth of the Licking river for an attack on the Shawnees. At this point Whitley, who had been to the Shawnee towns on two previous occasions, was named as the "pilot" for the expedition, and his men were joined to Logan's company. Bowman now commanded a total of about three hundred men. When they attempted to surround one of the villages, they were discovered by an Indian who was tending livestock. He was killed by one Hugh Ross, but his dying scream awakened the sleeping warriors, and thus the surprise was not so complete as they had hoped. After fighting all night and a part of the next day, the whites gained possession of about half of the village and burned it. A Negro woman who was living with the Indians told Bowman that the notorious renegade, Simon Girty, was within a few miles of that place with about five hundred warriors. After receiving this information, Bowman decided to withdraw, having had nine men killed and two wounded.[35]

By 1779 the land situation in Kentucky was badly confused. Some settlers had received land grants before leaving Virginia, while others had built their cabins and planted their corn wherever they wished. At this time the Virginia legislature passed an act providing for a three-man land commission to be appointed by the governor. This commission, which was headed by William Fleming, came to Kentucky in October, 1779, with the authority to investigate and correct the existing conditions. The first session was opened at St. Asaph's on the thirteenth. The commission was authorized to issue a certificate for a 400-acre settlement to each man who could show that he had raised a crop in Kentucky or had lived there for a year prior to January 1, 1778. Anyone who could prove that he had erected a cabin or made other improvements was allowed to

pre-empt 1000 acres more. The petitioner was charged ten shillings per acre and an additional ten shilling fee to cover the cost of issuing the certificate.[36] Whitley sent his first claim to this commission while it was sitting in Harrodsburg on November 6. He was able to show that in 1776 he had improved and raised corn on "a tract of land lying on Cedar Creek west of the Crab Orchard about three miles from the said Whitley's Station."[37] A certificate for 1400 acres was then issued in his name and delivered to Hugh McGary. The 400-acre settlement was surveyed on November 11 and the 1000-acre pre-emption on April 26 of the following year.[38]

The new station which Whitley had built was not located on this 1400-acre tract, but his subsequent actions show that he thought himself to be well within his rights. On February 5, 1780, he appeared in person before the land commission and proved himself to be the assignee of one Valentine Harmon who had raised a crop of corn near the location of Whitley's second station in 1775. He then received a second certificate for 1400 acres including and surrounding his existing station.[39]

Whitley's service as an Indian fighter, although rather extensive prior to this time, was to continue for many years. In July, 1780, George Rogers Clark raised one thousand men, and, with Logan as his second-in-command and Whitley as his guide, advanced on the Shawnee towns. Chillicothe was found abandoned and they burned it. At Piqua they defeated the Indians and destroyed about 500 acres of corn. In this battle a cousin of Clark, who had been a prisoner of the Indians, was killed as he tried to escape to the whites.[40]

The following year small bands of Indians again appeared in Kentucky. That summer two men named Walker and Coburn were killed while enroute from Logan's fort to Harrodsburg. A party of about eighteen men, including Logan, Whitley, and Daniel Trabue, pursued the savages, but were unable to overtake them.[41]

Samuel Daveiss, who lived about three miles from Whitley's Station, started to Gilmore's Lick early one morning in 1782. He had traveled only a few hundred yards when, on looking back at his cabin, he saw several Indians entering it, and he hastened to Whitley's for help. Although Mrs. Daveiss delayed the intruders by showing them her dresses and quilts, she and her three children were being led away as prisoners when help arrived. Whitley and his men might have surprised the savages had not the younger Daveiss boy seen them coming and shouted: "Come on, Captain

Whitley, here's Indians a'plenty." The Indians then hastily scalped the older boy, knocked the small girl's head against a tree, and made their escape. The most remarkable part of this incident is that both of the injured children recovered.[42]

Whitley did not participate in the Battle of Blue Licks which was fought on August 19, 1782, but was prevented from doing so only by the fact that the men involved did not wait for the Lincoln County reinforcements which were led by Logan. He arrived on the scene five days later and helped to bury the dead.[43]

Although Blue Licks has been called the "last battle of the American Revolution," the Indians were not yet ready to abandon Kentucky. In March, 1783, Absalom Mounts and Martin Moore were slain while trapping,[44] and on the thirteenth of the next month Indians appeared at the home of Michael Woods at Crab Orchard. The cabin was occupied at the time by Mrs. Hannah Woods, her mother, and a Negro man who was crippled. One of the savages had forced his way in before the door could be secured, and the Negro grappled with him, both falling to the floor of the cabin. Just as the Indian seemed to be getting the better of the struggle, the younger woman dispatched him with an axe. The Negro is said to have suggested letting in another and repeating the process, but fortunately help arrived before this expedient was tried.[45] Colonel William Fleming of the Virginia Land Commission, who was at Logan's Fort at the time, said that the men of the vicinity gathered at Whitley's and went in pursuit.[46]

Later in the same year Whitley and William Hartgrove went on a mission to the Cherokees to obtain some prisoners who had been taken during the war. They were received in a friendly manner, but while they were there, a half-breed named Jack Taylor, who usually acted as an interpreter, stirred up the warriors and threatened Whitley and his companion with death. When both Whitley and Hartgrove showed their intention of going down fighting, a chief called Otter Lifter intervened, complimented them on being good warriors, and allowed them to go home with several Negroes who had been prisoners. The Indians also released a seven-year-old white child named Baker who had been stolen from her parents during infancy. Whitley fortunately was able to discover her identity and returned her to her friends.[47]

In 1780 the Virginia assembly had divided Kentucky into three counties, Lincoln, Jefferson, and Fayette. After that time, references to Whitley in the Lincoln County Records are numerous. On Au-

gust 19, 1783, the county court sent his name to the governor of Virginia, recommending his appointment to the rank of captain in the militia,[48] and on November 16 he appeared with his commission from the governor and was duly sworn.[49]

Whitley put his new commission to good use. In the fall of 1785 a man named McClure was entering Kentucky by the Wilderness Road, accompanied by his wife and three small children. When Indians appeared McClure hastily abandoned his family. The three children were killed and scalped, and Mrs. McClure was taken prisoner and tied on the back of an unbroken horse. When evening came she was removed and forced to cook while the scalps of her children were drying beside the fire. When the news reached Whitley's Station, Whitley collected twenty-one men and gave chase, overtaking the Indians, killing two, rescuing Mrs. McClure, and taking a considerable quantity of plunder. McClure, who presumably had brought the news to Whitley's, refused to join the expedition. Whitley advised Mrs. McClure not to continue to live with such a cowardly man, but she failed to heed his warning.[50]

Ten days after the McClure affair, another group, led by a man named Moore, was attacked on the Wilderness Road near Raccoon Creek with the loss of nine persons. Captain Whitley was away from home when the news arrived, but his wife, Esther, raised a company of men, and when he returned they pursued the Indians and overtook them, killing three and recovering clothing, furniture, and horses which had been stolen from the settlers in recent raids.[51]

For his services in Illinois, Whitley received a private's allotment of 108 acres in George Rogers Clark's military grant, which was located on the north bank of the Ohio just above the falls. As was the case with most of the privates, Whitley's land was in two tracts, 100 acres in plot 262 and 8 acres in plot 74. He gave William Clark a receipt for both tracts on August 6, 1785, but by the end of the year he had sold his 100-acre tract to William Croghan and Alexander Bullitt.[52]

Whitley had served under Clark a third time in November, 1782, when he guided 1100 men to the town of Standing Stone on the Big Miami. Logan again was Clark's chief lieutenant. The Indians were defeated in several engagements, and a number of prisoners were taken.[53]

One of the worst of many tragedies on the Wilderness Road took place in October, 1786. The McNitt party was attacked at night between the Big Laurel and the Little Laurel rivers, and more

than twenty were killed. "I was then in Virginia," said Whitley, "and they were not followed."[54]

The year 1787 saw more raids on families coming to Kentucky. "Israel Hart's Defeat, May, 1787," said Whitley, "took place about 5 miles from my Old Station."[55]

By 1788 Whitley had laid out a race path on his property. The citizens of other parts of the county were evidently interested in this development for on June 17 of that year the Lincoln County Court ordered "that James McClure, Henry Cooke, Philip Lumpkins, and William Logan . . . do view the most convenient way for a Road from Whitley's race paths to the courthouse and make report thereof to the court."[56] This committee in due time submitted its report, and on October 21 the court ordered "that the road from Whitley's Race Path to the courthouse be established agreeable to the Report made by the viewers thereof. . . ."[57] William Logan was named as surveyor of the road and it was ordered "that he, with the Tithes which shall be allotted for the purpose, do clear and keep the same in repair according to law."[58]

This race track was laid out around a low flat top hill about a quarter of a mile from Whitley's home and was called Sportsman's Hill. The track was made the same width as the tracks in Virginia and the spectators viewed the races from the top of the hill where seats were arranged. In this way they could see the race easily all the way around the track.

Mr. Dan E. O'Sullivan, an accurate and gifted writer on turf matters in one of his booklets on Churchill Downs wrote:

One of the first race tracks in Kentucky, if not the very first, was made by Colonel William Whitley, the old Indian fighter and pioneer. This track was called Sportsman's Hill and was located near Whitley's home in Lincoln County, about two miles from the present town of Crab Orchard. This track was built before 1800; a meeting was held each year and a grand barbecue was given. Whitley was killed in the Battle of the Thames in 1813 and the track was abandoned but the markings of this course are seen today. The early Kentuckians loved racing and these meetings were attended by George Rogers Clark, Governor Isaac Shelby, Harrod, Logan McDowell and many others of the first settlers of the State.

In September the court had recommended that Whitley be advanced to the rank of major in the Virginia militia.[59] The following April he exhibited his commission to the court, and "had the Oaths prescribed by Law administered to him."[60]

Back of Whitley's service in the militia lay his sense of duty and of responsibility. The pay was small, and on at least one occasion was not received for nearly six years. A manuscript in the possession of the Kentucky State Historical Society shows that on September 29, 1788, he was issued a certificate for 18 days service as a captain on the frontiers. On July 12, 1803, he received his pay which totaled $28.50.[61] Whitley's highest military rank under the State of Virginia was lieutenant colonel. He was recommended for this rank on June 15, 1790, and was sworn in on February 15, 1791.[62]

His military experience was early sought by the Commonwealth of Kentucky. One of the first acts of Governor Isaac Shelby was to appoint officers for the Kentucky militia, and included in their number was the name of William Whitley as major of the sixth regiment.[63]

Both of Whitley's stations were located between St. Asaph's and Crab Orchard. It was at the latter place that travelers to the East awaited until a sufficient number had gathered to cross the wilderness with some degree of safety. The following notice which was printed in the *Kentucky Gazette* for November 1, 1788, is typical of those which appeared in nearly every issue: "A large company will meet at the Crab-Orchard the 19th of November in order to start early the next day through the wilderness. As it is very dangerous on account of the Indians, it is hoped that each person will go well armed."[64] Located on the frontier, Whitley was in an ideal position to advise these travelers, and to furnish part of the needed supplies. By 1792, however, the frontier was being pushed back, and Collins' Station on the Rockcastle River was in a position to furnish corn, oats, and whisky for those who passed by.[65]

An account book found in the papers of Harry Innis showed that in 1792 a group of Kentuckians subscribed money for the improvement of the Wilderness Road. Among the contributors was a William Whilley.[66] (This was obviously Whitley, since the names of his neighbors, Moses Collier and Henry Clark, appeared on the same page.) Although the others contributed money, Whitley's name was followed by the words, "Bacon acct." Since some men were employed to "carry provisions, grind corn, and collect bacon" in addition to those hired to work on the road, it would appear that the bacon was furnished by Whitley, and that a part of it was accepted as his contribution toward the improvement of the road.[67]

Whitley, although a large land owner, continued to devote a part of his time to military activities. On June 1, 1793, he was ad-

vanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the state militia to fill the place of Thomas Todd who had resigned.[69] This appointment followed closely his expedition to relieve Tucker's Station which had been attacked by a large number of Indians. This action was undertaken on the orders of Governor Shelby.[70]

About the smea time the Indians defeated the McFarland party on the Wilderness Road. Two small girls escaped unnoticed and were later rescued by Whitley and returned to their relatives.[71]

Drake's Defeat also took place in 1793. On this particular occasion both Drake and his wife fled from the scene, leaving their eight-year-old daughter, Betsy, who was led away as a prisoner. She was not closely guarded and soon escaped, only to wander in the woods, completely lost. Whitley and his men found the child's tracks and followed her. When finally rescued, Betsy was taken to the Whitley home where she remained for several months. When her mother learned of her rescue and sent for the child, Whitley replied that "she had deserted her child and let it fall into the hands of the Indians, and he thought he could do as good a part by it as the Indians." Mrs. Drake then came in person, but Whitley still refused to part with the child. Eventually the mohter became subject to attacks of fits which were thought to be caused by her grief. Believing this to be the case, Esther Whitley intervened and persuaded her husband to restore the child.[72]

On March 11, 1794, the Indians surprised another party on the Wilderness Road near Richland Creek. Four members of the group were killed and a fifth was mortally wounded.[73] By the end of March, attacks had become so frequent that John Bradford began to run a special column of "Indian News" in his *Kentucky Gazette*.[74] These tragedies convinced Whitley that it was necessary again to attack the Indians on their home ground, which he believed to be the Chickamauga village of Nickajack in the present State of Tennessee. Obtaining permission from Governor Shelby to call out his militiamen for a thirty-day period,[75] he advanced to Nashville with 200 men. Here he was joined by an even larger body of Cumberland men under the command of Major Orr. The Indians were defeated with great loss, and their village and crops were destroyed.[76]

On his way to what was called the Nickajack campaign against the Indians, Whitley composed the following piece of poetry which has been preserved by his descendents.

If in this my ninetneenth fight I'm lucky
I'll kiss the first white girl I meet in Kentucky
Should she refuse me I'll leave here to her will
And kiss my Esther dear who lives at Sportsman's Hill.

When Whitley returned from his Nickajack expedition he gave a great barbecue, inviting his neighbors and the men who had served under him. By this time he had built a fine, two-story brick house on the site of his first station, but even this could not accommodate the crowd, and, the weather being mild, tables were set up on the lawn. Vegetables and fruits were plentiful, but the main course consisted of shoats roasted whole and each with a potato in its mouth.[77] If the event was held in celebration of the final defeat of the Tennessee Indians, it was premature, for in the October 18th issue of the *Kentucky Gazette* Benjamin Logan announced his intention of making another attack in November and asked all who would to join him.[78]

Whitley's chief contribution to the Kentucky settlements lay in his exploits as an Indian fighter; politics he was generally content to leave to others. The one exception to this occurred in 1797 when he was elected to the lower house of the state legislature and served for one term.[79]

After 1798 Whitley seems to have devoted most of his attention to his family and his land. His three daughters, Elizabeth, Isabella, and Levisa, had been followed by three sons, Solomon, William, and Andrew, and these in turn by five more daughters.

His 2800 acres had remained almost intact, the only transfer having been the sale of 114 acres to William Pearl in 1792.[81] In 1799 he disposed of three additional tracts; 154½ acres to Cuthbert Banks, 85 acres to Abraham McKinney, and 133 acres to John Kissinger.[82]

In spite of his having been the owner of a large amount of land, Whitley had few slaves and only a small amount of livestock. His tax returns from 1787 through 1812 show an average of about three slaves with a maximum of four in any year, while his cattle did not exceed twenty-one nor his horses twenty.[83]

The Lincoln County Deed Books will bear out the tradition that Whitley paid for his house by disposing of portions of his land, if it is assumed that the debt was spread over a period of several years. In addition to the above-mentioned tracts, he sold 70 acres to John James in 1802, 110 acres to Moses Collier in 1804, 10 acres to Achilles Perrin in 1808, and 105 acres to Joseph Hutchison in 1812.[84]

According to legend the brickwork in the Whitley house was done by one Joseph Lewis, and a German with the rather un-German name of Henry Clark is supposed to have furnished the whisky for the workmen, both being paid in land.[85] On October 21, 1805, Whitley, for a consideration of 328£, deeded to a Joseph F. Lewis 228 acres of his land. If this were a payment in full, the brickwork would have cost approximately $1500, no mean sum for that day. There is no record of any of the Whitley land having been transferred to a Henry Clark, the closest approach being the sale on August 28, 1804, of 243 acres to Henry Sheven.[86]

Whitley's 2800 acres of land also was sufficient for giving each of his sons a good start as farmers. About the time that each attained his majority the parents deeded to Solomon, William, Jr., and Andrew, 200 acres of land apiece.[87]

In addition to the activity which would be expected in a family of thirteen, the Whitley house witnessed some unusual occasions. The Indians came to look upon Whitley as the white chief of the Kentucky frontier, and many of their leaders came to call, sometimes passing the night in the home, while their braves camped outside. At least one treaty was made there, the chiefs negotiating with Whitley, and their women presenting gifts to his wife.[83]

On one of their visits a group of Cherokees challenged Whitley to a shooting contest. In spite of his renown as a fighter, his wife was even better at target shooting than he. Without mentioning this fact, he suggested that Esther might consent to shoot with them. When the best of them had been beaten, the Cherokees asked how it was that she, a woman, could shoot so well. Esther Whitley is said to have replied that she had learned in order to kill Indians, and could still do so if conditions should make it necessary.[89]

Other references to Whitley for the period from 1800 to 1812 are scarce. In 1801 the Kentucky River Company was chartered to clear obstructions from that stream aand to make it navigable for boats from "its mouth to the mouth of its south fork." Two hundred shares of stock were to be subscribed at $50 each, and three commissioners were appointed for each county. In Lincoln County the commissioners named were Isaac Shelby, William Logan, and William Whitley.[90]

At the April meeting of the Lincoln County Court in 1803, Whitley presented a certificate which he had received "for services against Indians on the Frontiers of Kentucky." He took an oath to the effect that he had received the certificate prior to November,

1799, and that its face value, eight pounds and eleven shillings, "never was to his knowledge paid to any Sheriff or Collector in Payment of Taxes." The court then ordered his paper to be "certified to the Auditor of Public Accounts."[91]

On August 26, 1812, Whitley drew up his will in the presence of his neghbors, Moses Collier and Jacob Overleese. Specific bequests included a feather bed to each of his unmarried daughters, Polly, Sally, and Ann. In addition, each of the three was to have a horse, saddle, and bridle, worth one hundred dollars, or the equivalent in cash. Sally was also to receive a Negro girl. He directed that the remainder of his personal property be sold, and the money be divided, one-third to go to his wife, Esther, and the balance, in equal shares, to his eight daughters. The tract of land on which he lived was to remain with his wife until her death and then was to be divided equally among the daughters. He furthermore expressed the wish that his three sons be content with the farms which he had deeded to them as their portions of his estate.[92]

At the December, 1813, session of the Lincoln County Court the will of William Whitley was exhibited and proven, and the court ordered that the executor and executrix, Raney McKinney and Esther Whitley, be granted a certificate for obtaining a probate of the will.[93] William Farris, James Menifee, Reuben Menifee, and Daniel Morehead were appointed as appraisers of the estate.[94] They made their report on the eleventh of the following April, and their inventory of the property was duly recorded.[95]

Although he was in his sixty-fourth year and a veteran of more than twenty Indian engagements, Whitley answered Governor Shelby's call for volunteers for the War of 1812, and enlisted as a private in John Davidson's company, which formed a part of Richard M. Johnson's Kentucky Mounted Infantry.[93] In all of his campaigns he had been wounded only once, but he had often said that "the death he craved to die was in his country's defense."[94]

The night before the Battle of the Thames, Whitley is said to have expressed to his friend, John Preston, the belief that he would die on the following day. A short time before the battle, however, he swam his horse across the river to get the scalps of two Indians whom he had killed.

The main engagement took place on October 5, 1813. While other units were dealing with the British, Johnson's regiment assumed the task of engaging a large body of Indians commanded by the noted chief, Tecumseh. To avoid sending his entire regiment

into an ambush, Johnson halted the main body and used twenty volunteers to draw the savages' fire. The strategy of this military move was: That twenty mounted men should ride forward about thirty feet apart to draw the first volley of the fire of the Indians, and then before the Indians could reload and prime flint lock weapons, the American troops came swiftly forward and with a withering fire killed and routed the Indian allies of the British army. The group, which rode out to almost certain death, has been called by many historians, "The Forlorn Hope." Johnson, himself, rode beside the little band, and at its head rode William Whitley. At the first Indian volley, nineteen of the group were unhorsed, and fifteen were mortally wounded. Johnson, although badly injured, continued to give orders, sitting upright with his judge-advocate, Samuel Theobald, at his side. When the battle had ended with the death of Tecumseh and the rout of his warriors, William Whitley was numbered among those slain.[96]

Whitley's horse, his rifle, his powder horn and shoulder belt, were brought back to Mrs. Whitley by his friend, John Preston. The gun and powder horn came into the possession of a daughter of William Whitley, Jr., Mrs. Sally Ann Burch Higgins, who loaned them to Dr. Christopher C. Graham to be placed in a museum. Later Mrs. Higgins gave them to her grandson, John Buchanan of Louisville, who presented them to the William Whitley House, now a State shrine, where they are to be seen today.

Answering the question, "Who killed Tecumseh?" Suffice it to say that Whitley is one of many to whom credit has been given. Robert B. McAfee, who participated in the Battle of the Thames, wrote in his diary: "Tecumseh, it is said, fell by the hands of our Colonel," thus assigning the honor to Richard M. Johnson.[101]

Richard Spurr of Fayette County, a private in Samuel Combs' company, was one of the twenty members of the "Forlorn Hope."[102] He stated in later life that he had seen Whitley and an Indian fire at each other, and that both were killed. He also claimed that he had "carried Col. Whitley's and the Indian's remains into camp, and that General William Henry Harrison recognized the Indian as Tecumseh. . . ."[103] Unfortunately, Harrison was not very helpful, for in his report to the secretary of war he failed to mention the death of Tecumseh. He praised Johnson's regiment, but did not single out a particular group for commendation.[104]

Christopher C. Graham, who had interviewed General John Adair and Whitley's captain, John Davidson, stated that Tecumseh

(These are the lines engraved on the Powder Horn)

WILLIAM WHITLEY I AM YOUR HORN
THE TRUTH I LOVE, A LIE I SCORN
FILL ME WITH THE BEST OF POWER
I'LE MAKE YOUR RIFLE CRACK THE
LOWDER

SEE HOW THE DREAD TERRIFICK BALL
MAKE INDIANS BLEED AND TOREYS
FALL YOU WITH POWDER I'LE SUPPLY
FOR TO DEFEND YOUR LIBERTY

was "shot through the breast with two balls,"[105] and that Whitley and a young man named David King, also of Davidson's company, were the only ones who loaded in that particular way.[106]

Collins' *History of Kentucky* presents the statements of various men who participated in the Battle of the Thames. Opinions were varied, some assigning the honor to Richard M. Johnson, some to Whitley, and some to David King. After weighing the evidence, Collins concluded that, "Colonel Johnson did not kill Tecumseh, that David King might have done it, but that Colonel Whitley probably did kill him."[107]

The question of Tecumseh's death may remain a mystery, but the contribution of William Whitley to pioneer Kentucky is an established fact. In 1818 Whitley County was formed and was named in his honor. Its county seat, Williamsburg, was first known as Whitley Courthouse.[108] A tablet which was placed on the Whitley house in 1920 by the Logan-Whitley Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, reads: "Col. William Whitley, born 1749, Philanthropist, Patriot, Poet, Hero, killed in the Battle of the Thames, 1813."

Footnotes

Part I

[1] Reuben G. Thwaites, *Daniel Boone* (New York, 1919), 126.

[2] Draper MS. 9 CC 17, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. (Draper citations in this paper, except where otherwise stated, refer to microfilms in the University of Kentucky Library.)

[3] *Ibid.*, 19.

[4] *Ibid.*, 61.

[5] Lewis Collins, *Historical Sketches of Kentucky* (Cincinnati, 1847), 551. See also the family Bible of William Whitley, Jr., Filson Club, Louisville, Kentucky.

[6] William E. Railey, "Brief Sketch of the Owsleys and Whitleys," in *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (Frankfort, 1903-), XVI (1918), 74.

[7] Statement of Solomon Clark, nephew of Whitley, to Lyman C. Draper, in Draper MS. 9 CC 1.

[8] Draper MS. 9 CC 19.

[9] Railey, *op. cit.*, 74. In some of the early records this name appears as "Easther." The later spelling will be used in this paper.

[10] Family Bible of William Whitley, Jr.

[11] Draper MS. 9 CC 19. The names of the other nine children born to William and Esther Whitley are given in Appendix A.

[12] Draper MS. 9 CC 1; 9 CC 19.

[13] Draper MS. 9 CC 17.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Ibid.* Whitley expressed the belief that the only women in Kentucky at that time were "Mrs. Boone, 2 of the Mrs. Callaway's, Mrs. Clark and my wife." Benjamin Logan had arrived in the spring of 1775, but it was not until March 8, 1776, that he returned with his wife, Ann, and his son, David. (See John Bradford, *Notes on Kentucky,* reprinted by John W. Townsend (San Francisco, 1932), 24.

[16] Draper MS. 9 CC 18.

[17] "Certificate Book of the Virginia Land Commission of 1779-80," in *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society,* XXI (1923), 41.

[18] Draper MS. 17 CC 200, photostatic copy at the Filson Club. This is a ledger of the Henderson Company's store which was found about 1840 in the possession of Nathaniel Hart, Jr., and was copied by John D. Shane.

[19] Thwaites, *op. cit.,* 134-135; Draper MS. 9 CC 18.

[20] William S. Lester, *The Transylvania Colony* (Spencer, Indiana, 1935), 170; Draper MS. 9 CC 18.

[21] Draper MS. 9 CC 5-6. This is based upon Lyman C. Draper's interview with Levisa Whitley McKinney in 1851. The name Menifee in early documents was often spelled "Manifee." In this paper the more recent spelling will be used.

[22] Draper MS. 9 CC 5, 21.

[23] Draper MSS. 9 CC 5-6; 9 CC 21-23; Bradford, *op. cit.,* 31; Timothy Flint, *Indian Wars of the West* (Cincinnati, 1833), 63-64; John McClung, *Sketches of Western Adventure* (Maysville, Kentucky, 1832), 127-28; A. S. Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare,* ed. by Reuben G. Thwaites (Cincinnati, 1895), 203. The stories of Esther Whitley's ride from Boonesborough to Harrodsburg to summon aid, and of her having ventured outside of Logan's Fort in her husband's clothes, have not been found in any of the primary sources, and must for the present be treated as legends.

[24] Draper MS. 9 CC 23; Withers *op. cit.* 205.

[25] Draper MS. 9 CC 24.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] *Ibid.,* 25.

[28] *Ibid.,* 26-28.

[29] *Ibid.,* 28-29. Clark's orders permitted him to enlist men for three months, that three months to begin on the date of their arrival in Kentucky, but they were "to receive pay &c in case they remained on duty a longer time." See Patrick Henry to George Rogers Clark, January 2, 1778, in Draper MSS. 48 J 14.

[30] *Ibid.,* 29. Draper MS. 9 CC 17-53 constitutes "Whitley's Narrative" which he dictated to his son-in-law, Philip E. Soublett [Sublette] a few years before his death. Some of the accounts given by Humphrey Marshall in his *History of Kentucky,* which was first published at Frankfort in 1812, are so similar to those given by Whitley as to make it appear that Marshall had access to this manuscript. The narrative came into the hands of Whitley's third daughter, Levisa McKinney, who had already given it to her granddaughter, Nancy McCready, when Lyman C. Draper interviewed Mrs. McKinney in Missouri in 1851. Mrs. McKinney explained that the first four pages of the manuscript had been destroyed by the children. Draper visited the granddaughter who, as he said, "kindly gave it to me." (See Draper MS. 9 CC b).

[31] *Ibid.*, 29-30.

[32] *Ibid.*, 31.

[33] *Ibid.*, 5.

[34] Robert L. Kincaid, *The Wilderness Road* (Indianapolis, 1947), 138-141. This information, Dr. Kincaid obtained from a photostatic copy of the "Journal of Lord Henry Hamilton" in the Filson Club, Louisville, Kentucky.

[35] Draper MS. 9 CC 31-33; Lewis Collins, *History of Kentucky*, revised by Richard Collins in 1874 (Louisville, 1924), II, 245; Withers, *op. cit.*, 271.

[36] "Certificate Book . . .," *op. cit.*, 4; Willard R. Jillson, *Old Kentucky Entries and Deeds*, Filson Club Publication Number 34 (Louisville, 1926), 7.

[37] "Certificate Book . . .," 41. Draper MS. 60 J 385. This would seem to bear out the assertion made by some writers that Whitley's Station was then located about halfway between Logan's Fort and Crab Orchard. (See Willard R. Jillson, *Filson's Kentucke*, Filson Club Publication Number 35 (Louisville, 1929), 113-115; Kincaid, *op. cit.*, 155; Theodore Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, 6 vols. (New York, 1905), IV, 88; Thomas Speed, *The Wilderness Road*, Filson Club Publication Number 2 (Louisville, 1886), 17. His first land certificate indicates that he first settled near Cedar Creek, probably on or near the location of the present Whitley house. After this station was destroyed in 1777, he seems to have rebuilt three miles nearer to St. Asaph's. Levisa McKinney said of her grandparents: "They went to and died at Whitley's Station, at the Walnut Flat." (See Draper MS. 9 CC 5). This would indicate that the Whitleys were still living within five miles of Logan's Fort in 1782.

[38] Jillson, *op. cit.*, 69-70.

[39] "Certificate Book . . .," 179. Valentine Harmon was one of Harrodsburg's four representatives at the Transylvania Company's legislative council which met at Boonesborough on May 23, 1775. (See Draper MS 1 CC 203). In July of the same year he returned to North Carolina with Henderson. (See Draper MSS. 1 CC 94; 1 CC 214.) It is not known that he ever returned to Kentucky, but his disposal of his land would indicate that such was not his intention. The name Harmon appears occasionally as Harmond or Hammons.

[40] Draper MS. 9 CC 34-35. Draper MS. 8 J 144.

[41] "The Journal of Colonel Daniel Trabue" in Lillie DuPuy VanCulin Harper, *Colonial Men and Times* (Philadelphia, 1916), 23-24.

[42] Draper MSS. 9 CC 6-7; 9 CC 39-41.

[43] Benjamin Logan's letter of August 31, 1782, to Benjamin Harrison, in Reuben T. Durrett, *Bryant's Station*, Filson Club Publication Number 12 (Louisville, 1897), 223; Draper MS. 9 CC 52.

[44] Draper MSS. 9 CC 14 and 9 CC 36.

[45] Draper MSS. 9 CC 14; 9 CC 36-37; Collins (1847), 408; Samuel Metcalf, *Indian Wars in the West* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1821), 101.

[46] "Journal of Colonel William Fleming," in Draper MS., Virginia Series 22, Vol. 2, p. 69 (22).

[47] Draper MS. 9 CC 10-11; Collins (1847), 552.

[48] Lincoln County Order Book I, 98.

[49] *Ibid.*, 238.

[50] Draper MSS. 9 CC 7-8; 9 CC 45-48; Bradford, *op. cit.*, 152-56; Collins (1847), 551; Withers, *op. cit.*, 385. Humphrey Marshall claimed that there

were others in the McClure party, and that six adults were killed. (See Humphrey Marshall, *History of Kentucky (Frankfort, Kentucky,* 1812), 258-259.

[51] Draper MS. 9 CC 10; Bradford, *op. cit., 156; Collins* (1847), 551-552; Marshall, *op. cit.*, 259-260; Withers, *op. cit.*, 385-386.

[52] William H. English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio 1778-1783*, 2 vols. (Indianapolis, 1896), II, 850, 952, 1119.

[53] Draper MS. 9 CC 42-43.

[54] *Ibid.*, 52. Draper obtained the date from the *Kentucky Gazette.*

[55] *Ibid.*, 53. Whitley was evidently reckoning the distance from the station which he built in 1775 and 1776 at the site of the present house.

[56] Lincoln County Order Book III, 259.

[57] *Ibid.*, 306.

[58] *Ibid.*, 307.

[59] *Ibid.*, 297.

[60] *Ibid.*, 360.

[61] "Military Certificate Book, No. 1," 154 MS. pages, Kentucky State Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky, p. 149.

[62] Lincoln County Order Book III, 506, 548.

[63] *Kentucky Gazette*, June 30, 1792. See also, "Commonwealth of Kentucky, Executive Journal Number 1, 1792-96," MS. in the possession of the Kentucky State Historical Society, p. 3.

[64] Similar notices appeared in the *Gazette* on April 19, 1788; May 3, 1788; August 30, 1788; September 6, 1788; October 4, 1788; January 10, 1789; April 25, 1789; December 26, 1789; January 16, 1790; February 20, 1790; March 29, 1790; May 10, 1790; May 31, 1790; and June 24, 1790. The notices continued to appear for a number of years.

[65] *Kentucky Gazette*, August 4, 1792. The Collins advertisement was always printed in conjunction with notices of parties assembling at the Crab Orchard.

[66] The name has also been found as "Wheatley" and "Wheathley."

[67] Kincaid, *op. cit.*, 185; Thomas Speed, *The Wilderness Road*, Filson Club Publication Number 2 (Louisville, 1886), 47-50. Speed copied portions of the Innis account book from the original.

[68] Lincoln County Tax Lists, Kentucky State Historical Society.

[69] Executive Journal Number 1, p. 30.

[70] *Ibid.*, 25; "Shelby's Report on the Militia of Kentucky," MS. dated December 5, 1793, in Shelby Papers, Section 1, Box 1, Jacket 3, Kentucky State Historical Society; Shelby's letter of December 10, 1793, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives in the same location.

[71] Draper MS. 9 CC 9.

[72] *Ibid.*, 8-9.

[73] *Kentucky Gazette*, March 22, 1794.

[74] *Ibid.*, March 29, 1794.

[75] Executive Journal Number 1, p. 54.

[76] William B. Allen, *History of Kentucky* (Louisville, 1892), 49; Collins (1847), 552; Bennett H. Young, *The Battle of the Thames*, Filson Club Publication Number 18 (Louisville, 1903), 144. See also a letter of Richard Taylor to James Madison, dated October 11, 1794, in James A. Padgett, "The

Letters of Colonel Richard Taylor and of Commodore Richard Taylor to James Madison. . . ." In *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (Frankfort, 1903-), XXXVI (1938), 333.

[77] Draper MS. 9 CC 1-2. Draper obtained this account from Whitley's nephew, Solomon Clark, who was an eye witness.

[78] *Kentucky Gazette,* October 19, 1794.

[79] *Ibid.,* May 10, 1797; English, *op. cit.*, II, 953.

[80] For a complete list of the children of William and Esther Whitley see Appendix A.

[81] Lincoln County Deed Book B, 154. Tradition has Whitley disposing of a portion of his land to pay for the construction of his brick house. Colonel Bennett H. Young in his *Battle of the Thames* has him giving to "one man five hundred acres in Lincoln County for the construction of the brickwork [and to] another a farm for the whisky which was furnished to the workmen," (See p. 142), but the Lincoln County Deed Books will not bear him out. His estimated date of construction, 1790, seems fairly logical. The consideration of this point, however, will be reserved for a later chapter.

[82] Lincoln County Deed Book D, 80, 94, 135. It will be seen that the combined size of these four tracts is within 13½ acres of Colonel Young's figure, but this would mean that payment was not made for at least five years, since Whitley was living in his brick house by 1794. (See note 77).

[83] Lincoln County Tax Lists, Kentucky State Historical Society.

[84] Lincoln County Deed Books E, 33, 97; F, 148; G, 255. The Banks, Kissinger, and James deeds show that these tracts were a portion of the land which Whitley pre-empted in the name of Valentine Harmon. (See note 39).

[85] Louisville *Times,* September 6, 1889. This is a feature article signed M.M.T.

[86] Lincoln County Deed Books E, 205 and I, 36. The long delay in recording this latter deed gives the impression that Sheven had not learned the importance of such things.

[87] Lincoln County Deed Book E, 113-114. William Whitley, Jr. was twenty-two years of age when he received his land. The amount given to Andrew was not mentioned in the deed, but subsequent deeds made by him indicate that he received the same amount as his brothers.

[88] Christopher C. Graham, "Pioneer Life," in *Louisville Monthly Magazine* (Louisville, 1879, 1 vol.), 197. This information was obtained by Graham in an interview with Whitley's youngest daughter, Ann W. Harper, of Woodford County, Kentucky. At the time of the interview Mrs. Harper still had several baskets which the squaws had presented to her mother.

[89] Draper MS. 9 CC 11-12. This is based upon Lyman C. Draper's interview with Whitley's third daughter, Levisa McKinney.

[90] Collins (1924), I, 543.

[91] Lincoln County Order Book, 1800-1804, p. 182.

[92] Lincoln County Will Book G, 14-15.

[93] Lincoln County Order Book, 1812-15, p. 66.

[94] Lincoln County Estate Papers, File 11.

[95] Lincoln County Will Book E, 147. (See Appendix C).

[96] Young, *op. cit.,* 145, 263.

[97] Draper MS. 9 CC 12. Statement of Levisa McKinney to Draper.

[98] Young, *op. cit.*, 144.

[99] *Ibid.*, 81-85; Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, 9 vols. (New York, 1904), I, 137-140; Collins (1847), 552; Draper MS. 9 CC 12, statement of Levisa McKinney; Robert B. McAfee, *History of the Late War in the Western Country* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1816), 391-392; Robert M. McElroy, *Kentucky in the Nation's History* (New York, 1909), 352-354; (McAfee participated in the Battle of the Thames). Anderson C. Quisenberry, *Kentucky in the War of 1812* (Frankfort, Kentucky, 1915), 93-96. While Mrs. McKinney may have heard her father make the statement which was given above (See note 94), her comments upon the actual battle were necessarily of a second-hand nature. Draper explained that James Suggett, a Baptist minister, who participated in the Battle of the Thames, later moved to Missouri and often preached in the McKinney home. (See Draper MS. 9 CC 12). McAfee, a captain in Richard M. Johnson's regiment, kept a journal during the war. (See "The McAfee Papers; Book and Journal of Robt. B. McAfee's Mounted Company . . . from May 19th 1813 . . .," in *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, XXVI (1928), 4-23, 125-136, 236-248). McAfee treated the "Forlorn Hope" as merely the advance guard of the regiment, and did not mention Whitley by name. Henry Adams took a similar view of the event.

[100] Graham, *op. cit.*, 198.

[101] "McAfee Papers. . . ." (See note 96), p. 128.

[102] Young, *op. cit.*, 81.

[103] Railey, *op. cit.*, 74-75.

[104] "McAfee Papers. . . ." (See note 96), 236-242. This reprints Harrison's letter of October 9, 1813, to John Armstrong, Secretary of War. See also an excerpt from a letter of October 5, 1813, Harrison to Armstrong, in *American State Papers* (Washington, 1832), XII, 455.

[105] Graham, *op. cit.*, 197.

[106] Young, *op. cit.*, 263.

[107] Collins (1924), II, 407-410.

[108] *Ibid.*, 757-58.

Part II

THE WILLIAM WHITLEY HOUSE

On a small rise just south of U. S. highway 150 and about two miles west of the town of Crab Orchard, Kentucky, stands the residence which was once the home of the pioneers, William and Esther Whitley. The house is of bricks, which are laid in Flemish bond rather than in one of the English bonds which are more common in Kentucky. In this type of construction each horizontal row of bricks contains alternating headers and stretchers, that is, one brick is laid lengthwise, the next endwise, etc. English bond may consist of alternating rows of headers and stretchers, or, as is more often the case, a row of headers every fifth, sixth, or seventh row.[1]

In the Whitley house the headers in the gable ends are glazed so that a slightly darker pattern, in this case a series of diamonds, stands out clearly. Thus is achieved the effect generally known as ornamental Flemish bond which dates back to eleventh century Normandy. One of the earliest known examples of this in England is a fourteenth century church at Ashington, Essex, and by the sixteenth century it was widely used for English dwellings.[2]

Whitley's home was called Sportsman's Hill. He gave it this name on account of the race track nearby. Over the front entrance made from glazed brick are the letters W. W. standing for William Whitley and over the back entrance are the letters E. W. made in the same way, standing for his wife, Esther Whitley.

The rifle was the main family object. It was placed over the fireplace in the living room, where it would be immediately available.

The idea of brick initials and dates was known in England in the seventeenth century, one Herfordshire house bearing the inscription, "1648 W F M." One of the earliest American examples was Carthagena in St. Mary's County, Maryland, which was built in 1711 and razed in 1934, and which had on the front the initials of the builder, William Hebb.[3]

The walls of the Whitley house are exceptionally thick, and the windows are rather high above the ground, indicating that the builder had the safety of the occupants uppermost in his mind.

The glass for the windows is said to have been brought through the Cumberland Gap by mule pack.[4]

The main part of the house contains three rooms and a large hall on the first floor, two rooms and a hall on the second floor, and a large attic over the whole. Just to the left of the front entrance is the high-ceilinged family room with its thirteen S-shaped wood-carvings over the fireplace. Across the hall is the dining room with Whitley's gun closet in one corner, and behind that is a smaller room which is thought to have been the original kitchen.

The main stairway, which connects the lower and upper halls is beautifully carved, the end of each step being decorated with an eagle holding an olive branch. The second floor may also be reached by a hidden stairway or ladder leading from the kitchen to the west bedroom on the floor above; a valuable auxiliary route in case of Indian attack.

The reduced width of the main stairs, where they continue to the attic, makes possible a semi-secret space which shares the middle rear window with the stair-well. This cubicle when covered would have hidden a man, but at the same time would put him in a good position for watching or even for firing from the window.[5]

The attic is lighted by two windows in each gable end, and could have been used for spinning and weaving as well as for games and dancing; the name of the house, Sportsman's Hill, and the proximity of Whitley's race path indicating that it was not a place of "all work and no play." Here the large rafters are seen, squared with an axe and joined with wooden pegs. The house also has a full basement, the windows of which are protected by heavy wooden bars.[6]

Since Whitley built the first brick house in Kentucky, he must have gotten his ideas elsewhere, probably in Virginia. Although he moved his family to Kentucky in 1775, he returned to Virginia in 1786,[7] and could have observed the trends both in architecture and in furniture.

In his native Rockbridge County a number of houses, which were in existence at that time, bear a striking resemblance to the house which he later erected. Near Brownsburg he must have seen often the Samuel Wilson house, which is said to have been erected before 1750, and on his 1786 visit he could have also stndied the D. B. McClung house in the same area. Three other Rockbridge houses which must have influenced both William and Esther Whit-

ley are the Cyrus H. McCormick house, near Steel's Tavern, the Reid White home in the town of Lexington, and the John Miller house about twelve miles west of Lexington. The brickwork of the White home is laid in Flemish bond, and another example of this type of construction is the Dold building in the same town, which was erected when Whitley was a boy. Furthermore, on his 1786 visit he could have inspected the C. J. Brawley house and the Thomas J. Wilson house, each about four miles from Natural Bridge, the former to the west, and the later to the north. The Withrow Building, at Main and Washington streets in Lexington, is a good example of ornamental Flemish bond. While this was erected about 1790 and was probably never seen by Whitley, it could have been viewed by his builders. In Rockbridge County, side houses comparable to that which has been added to the Whitley house were not common until after 1800, but in New England, Pennsylvania, and the eastern shore of Virginia they were built much earlier. The eastern shore houses usually had their side houses centered with the main house, while those in Pennsylvania and New England generally had the small house joined near the rear of the big house. In Rockbridge County, side and back rooms were often added at a later date as was evidently the case with the Whitley house.[8] The determination of the dates of construction of the various additions to this house is an archeological and not a historical problem.

The Whitley house is not an exact copy of any of these Virginia houses, but would seem to be a composite of features borrowed from several. The exact year in which it was erected may never be determined, but the examination of existing evidence should at least make possible the setting of limits.

Some of the early travelers in Kentucky kept journals, and othere were interviewed in later life by historians. A large brick house at the edge of the wilderness, as the Whitley house would have been if in existence prior to 1792, would certainly have attracted considerable attention; and, since many of the travel accounts indicate careful observation, it seems likely that such a house would have been considered worthy of some comment.

The failure of the travelers who visited Kentucky after 1792 to mention the Whitley house should not be taken to mean that it did not exist. This apparent oversight is more likely to have been the result of two other pertinent factors. First, the frontier was by that time being pushed back to such an extent that a better than average house, even though built of brick, would have attracted less

attention.[10] Then too, brick construction, at least for certain types of buildings, was no longer a novelty.

If the date of construction of the Whitley house had to be determined from travel accounts alone, almost any year might be assigned, since the travelers obviously could not have mentioned everything that they saw, and furthermore, they probably could have traveled from Crab Orchard to St. Asaph's or Danville by more than one route.

A second type of evidence was mentioned in the preceding chapter. The tradition that Whitley paid for his house by disposing of part of his farm is very strong, but the fact remains that he deeded no land to anyone prior to September 28, 1792.[11]

It would seem also that the change from a log station to a large brick house might involve an increase in the number of slaves. As has already been pointed out, Whitley was never a large slaveholder, but by 1795 his slaves, which had been listed as one or two in all prevoius years, were suddenly increased to four, and his average remained close to that figure for the rest of his life.[12]

A still better type of evidence would be the statements or even the casual remarks of those who lived in, or even visited in the house. The "Whitley Papers" in the Wisconsin State Historical Society's Draper Collection[13] provide a certain amount of such evidence. These manuscripts contain the words of William Whitley; of his daughter, Levisa McKinney; and of his nephew, Solomon Clark. Whitley dictated his narrative to his son-in-law, Philip E. Sublette, shortly before his death, while Lyman C. Draper interviewed Solomon Clark in 1842 and Ievisa McKinney in 1851.[14] Some significance must be attached to the fact that in the entire collection there was no mention of a house until 1793,[15] and the term "brick house" was not used until October of 1794.[16] In earlier references to the family abode the term "station" was always used, and this appeared for the last time in 1787.[17]

A consideration of these four pieces of evidence has resulted in the conclusion that William Whitley was still living in a log station in 1787, and that he had moved into his brick house by 1794, and both the land and the slave arguments point to a date of construction nearer to the latter than to the former.

The exact date of the William Whitley house according to legends and dates of the Whitley descendents was that the house was begun in 1791 and finished in 1792 and is unquestionably the

first brick house built, not only in Kentucky but also west of the Allegheny Mountains.

These figures may be modified by future research, but even if they stand unchanged, they should have not the slightest effect upon the feeling of importance which the people of Kentucky attach to the continued preservation of Sportsman's Hill. This house is now a state shrine, not primarily because of its age, even though that equals or exceeds the age of the commonwealth itself, but rather because it was the home of one of the greatest of Kentucky's heroes, William Whitley.

Footnotes

Part II

[1] Henry C. Forman, *The Architecture of the Old South* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1948), 29,42.

[2] *Ibid.*, 42, 71.

[3] Forman, *op. cit.*, 150.

[4] Louisville *Times*, September 6, 1889, feature article signed M.M.T. This article credits a woman named Jenny Towns with transporting the glass.

[5] Clay Lancaster, "Some Secret Spaces and Private Places in Early American Architecture," in *Antiques (New York,* 1922-), L (1946), 327.

[6] For other descriptions of the Whitley house, see Christopher C. Graham, "Pioneer Life," in *Louisville Monthly Magazine* (Louisville, 1879, 1 vol.), 197; Maude W. Lafferty, *The Lure of Kentucky* (Louisville, 1939), 84; Clay Lancaster, "Kentucky's Architectural Firsts," in *Antiques*, LII (1947), 331-334; Rexford Newcomb, "The Architecture of Old Kentucky," in *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (Frankfort, 1903-), XXXI (1933), 191; Theodore Roosevelt, *Winning of the West,* 6 vols. (New York, 1905), IV, 88.

[7] See Part I, note 54.

[8] James W. McClung, *Historical Significance of Rockbridge County, Virginia* (Staunton, Virginia, 1939), 59, 64, 74, 77, 95, 128, 153, 190, and 218.

[9] See Part I, note 65.

[10] Lincoln County Deed Book B, 154. In view of the possibility that a deed might have failed to get into the index, the actual copies of all deeds made in Lincoln County prior to 1792 have been examined. These are recorded in Lincoln County Deed Books A and B.

[11] Lincoln County Tax Lists, 1787-1812, Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky.

[12] The "Whitley Papers" constitute Volume IX of the Kentucky manuscripts.

[13] Draper also interviewed William Whitley, Jr. (Draper MSS. 12 C 62-62 (8)) and the youngest Whitley daughter, Ann Harper. (Draper MSS. 18 S 188-96). The former believed that Whitley moved to "within two miles of Crab Orchard" in 1786, and the latter referred to "the new brick house" when telling of an event which occurred in 1795. This would seem to indicate that

Whitley moved into a log house on the 1400 acres which constituted his own preemption and settlement when he left his station at the Walnut Flat. This house may have been retained as an outbuilding when the brick house was erected. The land at the Walnut Flat, which Whitley had obtained from Valentine Harmon, was claimed also by Isaac Campbell, and Whitley already had lost one decision in the courts. (Lincoln County Order Book 1, Page 36). It is likely that this was his reason for moving.

[14] Draper MS. 9 CC 9.

[15] *Ibid.*, 2.

[16] Draper MS. 9 CC 53. Here Whitley said that "Israel Hart's Defeat, May 1787, took place about 5 miles from my Old Station." On the same page, when referring to the wounding of Isaac Keller, Whitley said that Keller "came to my station."

Part III

THE FURNISHINGS FOR THE WHITLEY HOUSE

The problem of determining the proper furnishings for the Whitley house seems at first glance to be comparatively simple, since the Lincoln County Will Books contain an inventory of Whitley's estate and a copy of his sale bill.[1] There are two factors, however, which must be taken into account. In the first place, Whitley had given to each of his three sons two hundred acres of land[2] and may have given each of them a share of his personal property as well. In the case of his five married daughters who, prior to his death, had received no land, this is even more probable. Secondly, the inventory even if complete, is typical of those of the period in its failure to be descriptive, the tendency being to make such entries as "1 bed" or "10 chairs" with no indication as to the kind.

This difficulty can perhaps be overcome if a sufficient number of inventories are examined, since there are likely to be a few clearly defined items in each. The articles selected in this way will at least be correct for the period under consideration. With this in mind, a total of ninety inventories and wills in the counties of Fayette, Garrard, Jefferson, Jessamine, Lincoln and Mercer have been studied.[3]

Having come to Kentucky in 1775, Whitley could have brought only small articles such as clothing, bedding, and cooking utensils with him. His 1786 visit to Virginia probably did not result in the importation of any large pieces of furniture, since this was ten years before the Wilderness Road was opened to wagon traffic.[4] This being the case, the furniture in his log station was no doubt largely of home construction. By the time the brick house was completed, however, there were a number of cabinet makers located in Kentucky. Daniel Jones was at Frankfort as early as 1789, and had enough business to have at least one apprentice.[5] At Lexington, Whitley would have found the shops of Daniel Weible by 1790, Daniel Spencer by 1793, John Spangler by 1794, Joseph Putnam by 1795, William Reed by 1797, John Goodman by 1799, and Porter Clay by 1803. Reed referred to himself as a "chairmaker," Spencer specialized in reed-bottom chairs, and Goodman's advertisement mentioned desks and tables as well as chairs.[6]

In 1806 the Frankfort cabinet maker, William Lowry, advertised for a journeyman and two apprentices, and only two months later he had acquired a partner named Hazen, had opened a second shop, and was in a position to "furnish the public with furniture of any description . . . made in the neatest manner and newest fashion [and to] sell on the lowest terms for cash or whisky."[7]

Having shown that Whitley could have obtained his furniture form those who made a business of producing it, the next task is to consider the styles which were popular in Kentucky between 1793 and 1813. The influence of the English designers, Thomas Chippendale, Robert and James Adam, and Thomas Shearer was strongly felt in the America east of the Appalachian mountains, since each of them, between 1754 and 1788, published catalogues which both pictured their pieces and explained their construction.[8] Their designs were widely copied, but by the time the Kentucky furniture makers had opened their shops two newer styles, Hepplewhite and Sheraton, had come into vogue. These, the Kentuckians copied with various modifications.[9] Among the Kentucky-made pieces which are still preserved are both Hepplewhite and Sheraton chests of drawers, sugar chests, blanket chests, candlestands, sewing tables, desks, cupboards, drop-leaf tables, sideboards, and dining tables.[10] The Hepplewhite pieces were frequently inlaid, after the manner of the original designer, while the Sheraton copies often had fluting or reeding on corners, posts, and legs.[11]

Before the days of extending dining tables the same result was achieved by the use of sectional tables which could be placed side by side in any desired number. Those sections which were not needed were generally used as side tables.[12]

It is extremely difficult to picture the old Indian fighter, William Whitley, sitting on a Hepplewhite chair or sleeping in a tester bed, and the same might be said of most of Kentucky's pioneers. Many of the chairs of this period were of the split-bottom, slat-back variety,[13] although windsor chairs are mentioned in several inventories.[14] In the windsor chairs the bent work and the spindles were usually made of hickory, while a great variety of woods were used for the seats. The most common types were the comb-back and the bow-back, the comb-back sometimes reflecting the Sheraton influence.[15]

The most common bed in Whitley's day was the low-post, cord type. The posts were generally four or five feet high, surmounted with a ball, and tapering considerably toward the bottom. The

feather bed, the straw tick, or both, were supported on a lattice-work of rope or cord which took the place of the slats and springs of a later day.[16]

Many inventories contain such entries as "1 feather bed, bedstead, and furniture," the term furniture referring not to other pieces in the room, but to the quilts, comforts, blankets, pillows, and linens which were on the bed at the time the inventory was taken. A similar usage made a cupboard and its contents appear as "1 cupboard and furniture."

The most common woods were cherry and walnut, although other varieties were employed for specific purposes.[17] The use of hickory has already been mentioned, and some of the others were ash, pine, cedar, oak, and maple.[18]

Whitley's home, as was usual in that period, contained a loom and several spinning wheels.[19] The latter ranged in size from the "big wheel" which was used for wool to the rather small flax wheel.[20] Accompanying these there were the usual accessories such as cards and hackles for dressing the raw wool, cotton, or flax, and reels for winding the yarn or thread into skeins.

Whitley's inventory lists a looking glass which he may have transported over the mountains, but which could have been purchased at the Lexington store of Alexander and James Parker a early as 1788.[21]

In the same year Edward West announced in the *Kentucky Gazette* the "opening of his watch and clock shop . . . in Lexington. . . ."[22] The timepiece commonly known as the grandfather clock had been available for at least a century,[23] and some may have been brought down the Ohio or even overland after 1796.[24] Whitley's inventory, however, mentioned no clock, and it is far more likely that he took his time from a key-winding watch.[25]

There are a few pieces of furniture which appeared in the inventories of the period which have not yet been mentioned. William Ross of Fayette County had a spice chest, a sugar desk, and a trundle bed.[26] The sugar desk was a more elaborate variation of the sugar chest, being designed to serve the additional function of sideboard or butler's table. It sometimes contained small spice drawers arranged in a row across the top. Whitley's inventory has him owning a "sugar box" which would indicate that his was of the chest type, made either of wood or of tin. Considering the size of Whitley's family, the ownership of a trundle bed at some time seems highly probable.

At least two of his Lincoln County neighbors, John Bailey and John Embree boasted bookcases,[27] but the evaluation of Whitley's books at $1.50 would not imply a need for such an article unless this figure is merely a reflection of the appraisers' opinions of such things.

Levi Todd[28] of Fayette County had a bureau, as did also Roger Patton[29] of Jessamine. James Kirkpatrick[30] of Lincoln had a safe, probably of the wood and perforated tin variety commonly used for storing food.[31] The wife or a daughter of William Baker, also of Lincoln County, had a dressing table.[32] The only clothes press noted was that of William Owsley (Lincoln County Will Book E, 144-45). Andirons were usually listed, generally being accompanied by such items as shovels and tongs. Cradles were evidently given to the next generation long before inventories were taken, only one having been discovered. (Mercer County Will Book 3, 53-54.)

In the 1840's William Whitley, Jr., and his brother, Andrew, possessed several washstands, and the latter even had a "bathing tub."[33] These items, however, were not found in the earlier inventories.

Carpets and rugs were listed only rarely, but there are perhaps enough of such cases to justify the conclusion that the Whitley home would have had a few. Rag-woven carpets had been used in the East as early as 1660, and some families had looms designed for this purpose.[34] Hooked and braided rugs were known even earlier, with the former predominating in the New England and middle colonies, and the latter in the South.[35] The people who settled Kentucky had sufficiently varied geographical backgrounds to make any one of the three types acceptable for an early Kentucky house.

The dishes of the period included wooden bowls and trenchers, with these being supplemented and eventually displaced by queen's ware, delftware, and pewter. Delftware, a brown, glazed pottery, was accepted rather slowly by the people west of the mountains, the women feeling that it was too easily broken, and the men complaining that it dulled their scalping knives.[36] Queen's ware was a glazed, cream-colored earthenware, sometimes decorated with blue borders or bands. Pewter, an alloy of copper and tin, was used for knives, forks, spoons, dishes, pitchers, bowls, basins, etc. In this period it occupied the position later taken by silver, and it was not until the latter half of the nineteenth century that it began to be relegated to the kitchen.[37] Very few Kentuckians of Whitley's day

owned any silver, the Fayette Countians, Levi Todd[38] and Jobe Carter;[39] the Jefferson County residents, Richard Bohannon[40] and James Meriwether;[41] Jessamine Countian, Roger Patton;[42] and Lincoln County's John Embree[43] being among the exceptions.

Queen's ware could be purchased in Lexington from Tegarden and McCullough as early as 1787,[44] and the following year Alexander and James Parker had delftware,[45] and Thomas January was advertising pewter.[46] Hugh McIlvain had glass ware and tin ware by 1789.[47]

The silversmiths, Edward West and Samuel Ayres, had shops in Lexington by 1790[48] and 1791[49] respectively, and Ayres is said to have practiced his trade in Danville as well.[50] These men evidently did not ruin the pewter market, for on the night of April 16, 1799, the home of John Ireland, on Eagle Creek, in Scott County was robbed, and among the articles taken were six pewter plates.[51] Kentucky's best-known silversmith, Asa Blanchard, did not arrive in Lexington until about 1808.[52]

In addition to the above named items, many inventories listed knife cases, bottle cases, glass tumblers, decanters, teaboards, goblets, candlesticks, tablecloths, delft teapots, trivets, waiters, candle snuffers, salt cellars, vinegar cruets, and conch shells. Kitchen equipment included copper, brass, and iron pots and kettles, piggins, coffee and pepper mills, teakettles, canisters, teapots, coffee-pots, candle molds, flatirons, butterpots, Dutch ovens, tubs, steelyards, iron knives, forks and spoons, pepper boxes, meal sieves, tin pans, pewter pans and basins, tin buckets, griddles, skillets, churns, ladles, pot racks and pot-hooks, jugs and jars. (A list of suggested items for the Whitley home is given in Appendix E).

Footnotes

Part III

[1] Lincoln County Will Books E, 147 and D, 62-64.

[2] Lincoln County Deed Book E, 113-114.

[3] The inventories and wills which were used are listed in Appendix D.

[4] J. Winston Coleman, Jr., *Stage-Coach Days in the Bluegrass* (Louisville, 1939), 27.

[5] Draper MS. 11 CC 256.

[6] Charles Staples, *Pioneer Lexington* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1939), 68, 94, 101, 104, 138-39, 150, and 160.

[7] *The Western World* (Frankfort, Kentucky), November 22, 1806, and February 19, 1807.

[8] N. Hudson Moore, *The Old Furniture Book* (New York, 1936), 48ff.

[9] Alice Winchester, "Kentucky Furniture—The Styles," in *Antiques* (New York, 1922-), LII (1947), 359.

[10] *Ibid.*, See also "Living with Antiques in Kentucky," in *Antiques*, LII (1947), 335-343.

[11] Winchester, *op. cit.*, 359.

[12] Moore, *op. cit.*, 78.

[13] Winchester, *op. cit.*, 359; Rexford Newcomb, "The Architecture of Old Kentucky," in *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (Frankfort, 1903-), XXXI (1933), 190.

[14] John Legrand, Fayette County Will Book B, 174; John Embree, Lincoln County Will Book G, 54-57; Howson Duncan, Lincoln County Will Book E, 156; Nathaniel Pettit, Fayette County Will Book B, 89-91; William Whitley, Jr., Lincoln County Will Book Q, 340-344.

[15] Wallace Nutting, *Furniture Treasury*, 3 vols. (Framingham, Massachusetts, 1928), II, Plates 2507-2705.

[16] Newcomb, *op. cit.*, 190.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] Winchester, *op. cit.*, 359.

[19] Lincoln County Will Book E, 147.

[20] Charles D. Drake (ed.), *Pioneer Life in Kentucky, A Series of Reminiscential Letters From Daniel Drake, M.D. of Cincinnati to his Children* (Cincinnati, 1870), 101-102.

[21] *Kentucky Gazette*, June 7, 1788.

[22] Margaret M. Bridwell, "Kentucky Silversmiths Before 1850," in *The Filson Club History Quarterly* (Louisville, 1926-), XVI (1942), 113.

[23] Nutting, *op. cit.*, II, Plates 3240-3260; Frederick J. Britten, *Old Clocks and Watches & Their Makers* (London, 1932), 581.

[24] Newcomb, *op. cit.*, 190. See also Note 4.

[25] Lincoln County Will Books D, 13-17 and G, 54-57.

[26] Fayette County Will Book B, 129-130. Trundle beds were owned also by George Creecy and by Whitley's son, Andrew, Lincoln County Will Books E, 157-59 and O, 183.

[27] Lincoln County Will Book G, 148 and 54-57.

[28] Fayette County Will Book A, 436-38.

[29] Jessamine County Will Book B, 25-26.

[30] Lincoln County Will Book D, 1-4.

[31] Winchester, *op. cit.*, 359-363.

[32] Lincoln County Will Book D, 13-17.

[33] *Ibid.*, Q, 340-344; O, 183.

[34] Moore, *op. cit.*, 113.

[35] Harold D. Eberlein and Abbot McClure, *The Practical Book of American Antiques* (Garden City, New York, 1927), 385-390.

[36] Joseph Doddridge, *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania from 1763-1783 Inclusive* (Wellsburgh, Virginia, 1824), 112; James Hall, *Sketches of the History, Life, and Manners in the West*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1835), I, 218-19; Newcomb, *op. cit.*, 190; and inventories of the estates of various citizens of Kentucky who died between 1793 and 1813.

[37] Scott G. Williamson, *The American Craftsman* (New York, 1940), 144-145; and numerous Kentucky inventories.
[38] Fayette County Will Book A, 436-438.
[39] Fayette County Will Book B, 286-290.
[40] Jefferson County Will Book 2, 19-21.
[41] *Ibid.*, 52.
[42] See note 29.
[43] Lincoln County Will Book G, 54-57.
[44] *Kentucky Gazette,* September 1, 1787.
[45] *Ibid.*, June 7, 1788.
[46] *Ibid.*, June 28, 1788.
[47] *Ibid.*, January 24, 1789.
[48] *Ibid.*, January 23, 1790.
[49] *Ibid.*, January 15, 1791.
[50] Margaret M. Bridwell, "Kentucky Silver," in *Antiques,* LII (1947), 366.
[51] *The Palladium* (Frankfort, Kentucky), April 25, 1799.
[52] Bridwell, "Kentucky Silver," 366.

APPENDIX A

THE CHILDREN OF WILLIAM AND ESTHER WHITLEY

1. Elizabeth (Mrs. Robert Stevenson), born in Virginia about 1772 and died in Alabama about 1830.

2. Isabella (Mrs. Philip Sublette), born in Virginia about 1774 and died in Missouri about 1820.

3. Levisa (Mrs. James McKinney), born at Harrodsburg, February 25, 1777, still living in Missouri in 1851.

4. Solomon, born in Kentucky about 1780, (married Peggy Day), moved to Missouri.

5. William, born in Kentucky, April 20, 1782, (married Polly Shanks), died in Lincoln County, August 23, 1849.

6. Andrew, born in Kentucky about 1784, (married Elizabeth Settle), died in Lincoln County in 1844.

7. Esther (Mrs. Samuel Lewis), born about 1786 and died, perhaps in Woodford County in 1815.

8. Mary, generally known as Polly (Mrs. George Gilmore), born in Kentucky in 1788, moved first to Illinois and later to Oregon.

9. Nancy (Mrs. John Owsley), born about 1790 and died prior to 1820, in the vicinity of Crab Orchard.

10. Sally (Mrs. Henley Middleton), born about 1792 and died near Crab Orchard about 1845.

11. Ann (Mrs. William Harper), born about 1795, still living in Woodford County in 1879.

As was stated in Part 1, William Whitley was killed in the Battle of the Thames on October 5, 1813. His wife, Esther, died at the home of her daughter, Ann Harper, in Woodford County on November 20, 1833.

(The above information was obtained from Draper MS. 9 CC 5, 12-13, and 19, and from the family Bible of William Whitley, Jr., at The Filson Club, Louisville, Kentucky.)

APPENDIX B

OWNERS OF SPORTSMAN'S HILL FROM WHITLEY TO STATE

The interests of the Whitley daughters in their father's home were purchased by his three sons, Solomon, William, and Andrew, and by the end of the year 1824 they had sold the house and about two hundred and eighty acres to David Shanks. (See Lincoln County Deed Books, I, 167; K, 45, 58, 61, 82; and L, 158, 225).

In 1827 Shanks sold the property to Ephriam Pennington. (See Deed Books, M, 253-254; S, 185). Pennington willed the property to his children in 1861, and on May 2, 1919 it was deeded by the remaining heirs to Ollie M. Crutcher. (See Will Book U, 8, and Deed Book 59, 417-418).

Ollie M. Crutcher and her husband, James M. Crutcher, transferred the Whitley place to their daughter, Mary Crutcher Lee, in two deeds made in 1925 and 1926. (Deed Books, 69, p. 44, and 70, p. 285). In 1930 it was deeded to I. J. Engle, who sold it in the same year to James A. Wallace. (Deed Book 77, pp. 131, 337.)

The property reverted to Engle in 1932 and in 1936 it passed by bequest to his wife, Nettie May Engle. (Deed Book 81, p. 6; Will Book 7, p. 243.) On February 25, 1938, Mrs. Engle deeded the Whitley house and 9.723 acres surrounding it to the Commonwealth of Kentucky. (Deed Book 86, p. 614).

APPENDIX C
INVENTORY OF WILLIAM WHITLEY'S ESTATE

This inventory was made, probably in December of 1813, by Daniel Morehead, James Menifee, Reuben Menifee, and William Farris. It was recorded in the office of Lincoln County Clerk, Thomas Helm, in April, 1814. (Will Book E, 147).

Bay mare	$ 60.00
Brown horse	50.00
Bay horse	50.00
Brown horse	40.00
Brown, year-old mare colt	12.00
Brown, two-year-old horse colt	18.00
Bay horse colt	10.00
One iron-toothed harrow	6.00
Twelve hogs	20.00
Black cow	8.00
Brindle cow	9.00
Black cow and calf	9.00
Black year-old steer	1.75
Four calves	10.00
Nine sheep	11.25
Seventeen geese	5.68
Farming tools	4.00
Three axes and garden hoe	4.00
Two hoes	1.75
Iron toothed rake and mattock	2.25
Grindstone	3.00
Truckles and gears	10.00
One woman's saddle	5.00
One woman's saddle	5.00
Two old woman's saddles	3.50
One woman's saddle	15.00
Two big [spinning] wheels	2.00
Hackle	3.00
Two plows	5.50
Mole trap	.50
Kitchen furniture	29.25
Sundry iron tools	4.00
Gun stock mounting and bell	1.75
Partridge net	1.00
Two beds, bedsteads and furniture	25.00
One conch shell	.75
Three spinning wheels and . . . reel	4.00
Two basins	3.00
One rifle gun, powder horn, etc.	25.00
One bottle case	2.50
One candle stand and two candlesticks	2.00

One small, folding-leaf table	$ 2.50
Cupboard and furniture	8.00
Thirteen chairs	4.00
One large, folding-leaf table	5.00
Two pairs of cotton cards	2.00
Sundry books	1.50
One loom, etc.	10.00
Feather bed, bedstead and furniture	12.50
Sugar box	.75
Three bee gums	3.00
Negro woman	15.00
Three fire irons	4.00
Two dry hides	3.75
One hammer and spike gimlet	.42
One feather bed and furniture	18.00
One bed and furniture	15.00
One pair of saddle-bags	1.00
One pair of tow cards	.12½
One side of upper leather	2.25
One hog skin	.50
Four shoats	2.50
Two sows and pigs and barrow	4.00
Four tablecloths	5.00
One table	.50
One jug and pickling pot	.75
One oil stove	.50
Cash in hands of Esther Whitley	32.00
One looking-glass	.75
	$638.72½

(The inventory as copied in Will Book E, page 147, values the personal property at $647.22, but whether the error of $8.49½ was made in the original copy or in the recent transcription has not been determined, since it was discovered too late to permit a re-examination of the inventory.)

APPENDIX D
LIST OF THE INVENTORIES, SALE BILLS, AND WILLS EXAMINED

FAYETTE COUNTY

NAME	DATE	WILL BOOK	PAGES	FORM
Carter, Jobe	November 4, 1811	B	286-290	Inventory
Elrod, Robert	January 15, 1811	B	155-156	Inventory
Goodloe, Thomas	April 24, 1813	B	477-479	Inventory
Higgins, Azeriah	February 20, 1812	B	364-365	Inventory
Legrand, John	November 30, 1810	B	174	Inventory
Nichols, John	August 28, 1811	B	302	Inventory
Pettit, Nathaniel	December 11, 1809	B	89-91	Inventory
Ross, William	February 19, 1810	B	129-130	Inventory
Taylor, Asa	January 13, 1812	B	341-343	Inventory
Todd, Levi	October 27, 1807	A	436-438	Inventory

GARRARD COUNTY

Belles, Phillip	October 25, 1805	C	75-79	Inventory
Best, Humphrey	April __, 1815	D	63-66	Inventory
Brassfield, Edward	August 20, 1805	C	69-71	Inventory
Brown, Henry	November __, 1814	D	29-30	Inventory
Cloyd, David	June 10, 1814	D	39-40	Sale Bill
Gibson, George	February __, 1814	D	38	Inventory
Harris, Robert	March __, 1804	C	28	Inventory
Hughes, Abraham	August __, 1814	D	52-54	Inventory
Robertson, Joel	May 21, 1813	D	44-47	Sale Bill

JEFFERSON COUNTY

Bohannon, Richard	October 7, 1814	2	19-21	Will
Bullitt, Mary	September 11, 1817	2	55	Will
Keller, William	December 9, 1817	2	62-63	Will
Maple, John	July 11, 1820	2	118	Will
Martin, John	September 6, 1813	2	7-9	Will
Meriwether, James	October 10, 1800	2	52	Will
Miller, Anthony	March 12, 1818	2	75	Will
Stafford, Eve	July 14, 1815	2	98-99	Will
Watson, William	March 11, 1819	2	104-105	Will
White, Mary	July 15, 1820	2	122	Will

JESSAMINE COUNTY

Barr, Zachariah	September 5, 1812	B	9-12	Inventory
Fulkerson, Abraham	March 16, 1812	B	30-33	Inventory
Hoover, David	June __, 1813	B	46-49	Inventory
Nicholson, Thomas	October 3, 1812	B	22-24	Inventory
Overstreet, Richard	September 30, 1812	B	15-16	Inventory
Patton, Roger	January __, 1813	B	25-26	Inventory
Sallee, Joseph	January __, 1813	B	18-22	Inventory
Stonestreet, John D.	December 1, 1812	B	28-29	Inventory
West, Charles	December 12, 1812	B	26-28	Inventory

LINCOLN COUNTY

Bailey, John	August 23, 1819	G	148	Inventory
Baker, William	April 15, 1807	D	13-17	Inventory

LINCOLN COUNTY (Cont.)

NAME	DATE	WILL BOOK	PAGES	FORM
Campbell, Joseph	October __, 1808	D	127-130	Inventory
Christopher, Eliz.	June 23, 1820	G	110-111	Inventory
Collyer, Moses	June 29, 1814	E	152	Inventory
Craig, John	October 9, 1818	F	245-248	Inventory
Creecy, George	November 29, 1814	E	152	Inventory
Dooley, George	February 22, 1822	G	188	Inventory
Duncan, Howson	August 22, 1815	E	156	Inventory
Embree, John	March 12, 1819	G	54-57	Inventory
Emmerson, Samuel	March 22, 1814	E	154-155	Inventory
Givens, John	March 12, 1819	D	242-243	Inventory
Grisham, Phillip	April 11, 1814	E	138	Inventory
Helm, Marquis	June 29, 1820	G	155	Inventory
Henderson, Christopher	January 29, 1807	D	9-10	Inventory
Hensley, John	January 23, 1813	E	143	Inventory
Hocker, Richard W.	October 20, 1821	G	218-219	Inventory
Hutchings, Gabriel	April 7, 1806	D	5-6	Inventory
Jackson, John	October 8, 1821	G	144-145	Inventory
Kirkpatrick, James	April __, 1808	D	1-4	Inventory
Legg, John	February 22, 1822	G	224	Inventory
Logan, William	May 29, 1807	D	23-34	Inventory
Lowe, Jesse	January __, 1814	E	137	Inventory
McClure, Robert	April 9, 1821	G	153	Inventory
McGinnis, Isaac	March 11, 1822	G	223	Inventory
McKinney, Ebernezer	September 25, 1813	E	148-149	Inventory
McRoberts, George	February 13, 1822	G	222	Inventory
Montgomery, Thomas	March __, 1808	D	54-68	Inventory
Overleese, Jacob	January __, 1814	E	136	Inventory
Owsley, William	January 12, 1814	E	144-145	Inventory
Payne, Reuben	February 12, 1821	G	147	Inventory
Pope, John	November 22, 1815	E	159-161	Inventory
Prentice, Joshua, F.	July 10, 1820	G	111	Inventory
Shanks, John	December 14, 1811	E	42-43	Inventory
Shelby, Isaac	November 15, 1824	I	84-87	Inventory
Sweeney, Moses	September 4, 1813	E	139-140	Inventory
Thurmond, John	April 20, 1812	E	44-45	Inventory
Whitley, Andrew	November 1, 1843	O	150	Will
Whitley, Andrew	January __, 1844	O	183	Inventory
Whitley, Esther	March 24, 1834	M	67	Will
Whitley, William	August 26, 1812	G	14-15	Will
Whitley, William	December __, 1813	E	147	Inventory
Whitley, William	December 27, 1813	D	62-64	Sale Bill
Whitley, William, Jr.	March 27, 1849	Q	55	Will
Whitley, William, Jr.	October 8, 1849	Q	340-344	Inventory

MERCER COUNTY

Adams, George	August 11, 1803	3	31	Inventory
Buchanan, Nancy	October 10, 1810	4	158-159	Inventory
Bunton, John	November 16, 1810	4	168-174	Inventory
Cooney, John	December __, 1803	3	33	Inventory
Thompson, William	July 19, 1804	3	56-59	Inventory
Van Nuys, Isaac	September 27, 1804	3	68-71	Inventory
Woodson, Jacob	March 31, 1804	3	53-54	Inventory

APPENDIX E

SUGGESTED FURNISHINGS FOR THE WHITLEY HOUSE

The items listed below were obtained from the various inventories, sale bills, and wills, which are tabulated in Appendix D. Since types and styles were discussed in Part III, descriptive terms have generally been omitted. It is very probable that some of these articles, at least at certain seasons would have been used in the attic, as for example, spinning wheels and reels. The loom was likely to have been a permanent attic fixture. The halls have not been included, but certainly would not have been completely bare and may have contained chairs, small tables or even a chest of drawers.

FAMILY ROOM

Andirons
Candle snuffers
Candlestand
Candlesticks
Chairs, windsor and slat-back
Chest of drawers
Desk or secretary-desk
Looking-glass
Rug, braided, hooked, or rag-woven
Shovel and tongs
Table, small, drop-leaf

OTHER ITEMS

Cards and hackles
Loom, probably in attic
Spinning wheel, cotton
Spinning wheels, flax
Spinning wheels, wool
Reel

BEDROOMS

Beds, low-poster, cord
Beds, trundle
Blankets
Candle snuffers
Candlestands
Candlesticks
Chairs, windsor and slat-back
Chest of drawers
Comforts
Counterpanes
Feather beds, pillows and bolsters
Quilts
Rugs, braided, hooked or rag-woven
Sheets, cotton and linen
Pillow slips, cotton and linen
Bolster slips, cotton and linen
Straw ticks
Tables, small, plain or drop-leaf

DINING ROOM

Andirons
Bottle case
Candle snuffers
Candlestand
Candlesticks
Chairs, windsor and slat-back
Coffee-pot and trivet, pewter
Conch shell
Corner cupboard
Cruets
Decanter
Dining table, drop-leaf or sectional
Dishes, delftware, queen's ware, pewter
Goblets, glass or pewter
Knife case
Knives, forks, and spoons of pewter
Pitchers, glass or pewter
Rifle and powder horn
Rugs, braided, hooked or rag-woven
Saltcellars
Shovel and tongs
Side table, drop-leaf
Shotgun and shot bag
Spice chest
Sugar chest
Table-cloths, linen
Teaboard
Teapot, delftware or pewter
Tumblers, glass or pewter
Waiter

KITCHEN

Basins, pewter, wooden
Bowls, pewter, wooden
Butterpots, earthenware
Candle molds
Candle snuffers
Candlesticks
Canisters, tin
Chairs, slat-back
Churn
Coffee mill
Coffee-pot, iron
Corner cupboard
Cream skimmer, tin
Dutch oven
Flatirons
Flesh fork
Griddles
Jars, earthen
Kettles, iron, copper, brass
Knives, forks, spoons, and ladles of iron, pewter, tin
Pans, pewter and tin
Pepper mill
Pickle pot
Piggins
Pot-hooks
Pot-rack
Pots, iron and copper
Sieves and sifters
Skillets
Steelyards
Table, drop-leaf
Teakettle
Tubs, wooden
Waffle-irons

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